



THE KEYNOTER

THE
CAMPAIGNS
OF



HENRY CABOT LODGE, JR.

EDWARD W. CARMACK • CAMPAIGN ENVELOPES
CHARLIE HALLECK • ROORBACKS • McNARY FOR V.P.

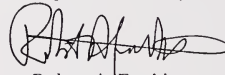
Managing Editor's Message

It's over. After 12 years as the Managing Editor of *The Keynoter*, I am retiring.

When I started, I had two objectives. The first was to turn *The Keynoter* from a typewritten looseleaf publication into a professionally produced historical magazine. The second was to create a journal that would inform our members and also be recognized by historians as a source of original campaign materials and thought. With the help of many people too numerous to mention here, we have succeeded in reaching both goals. We have interviewed political figures from Alf Landon to George McGovern, biographers Merle Miller and Stephen Ambrose, and published many original documents, analyses and pictures unavailable elsewhere.

Over the years, the purpose behind publishing *The Keynoter* has not been to be all things to all members, but to provide a broad range of historically accurate information, some portion of which would interest almost everyone. I have sought out articles from many of you on your particular collecting specialties and pictures of your treasured items. Members have sent articles from newspapers and other unsolicited pieces that have added greatly to our depth of knowledge and helped explain issues, words and items that were previously only question marks. I can't put into words how much I have enjoyed having this position, but now it is time to leave. Thank you all for your assistance and forbearance.

I am pleased that our President, Geary Vlk, has chosen Michael Kelly to succeed me as Managing Editor. Over the years, Michael has contributed many articles reflecting a keen sense of campaign history combined with an enjoyable writing style. Now he gets to see how the other half works. He will have to solicit articles and pictures, edit manuscripts, lay out the publication, proofread the galleys and review the blue line copy. He will need your help, as I did. I am sure that all of you who have contributed in the past will continue to join in making *The Keynoter* an outstanding journal of American political history.



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APIC seeks to encourage and support the study and preservation of original materials issuing from and relating to political campaigns of the United States of America and to bring its members fuller appreciation and deeper understanding of the candidates and issues that form our political heritage.

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Covers: *Front:* Sidewalk Sticker, Orange Black, 10½" x 3¾"; *Back:* Poster, black/white.

THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS OF HENRY CABOT LODGE, JR.

By Michael Kelly

*"And this is good old Boston,
the home of the bean and the cod,
where the Lodges speak only to Cabots
and the Cabots speak only to God."
--Popular verse*

Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. was born one day after Independence Day — on July 5, 1902 — but lacked nothing in qualifying as a "real live nephew of my Uncle Sam." He was part of a tradition of leadership and service reaching to the very beginnings of the American Republic. When President George Washington toured New England in 1789, he stopped to breakfast with his friend U.S. Senator George Cabot. As the two men ate, Cabot's seven year old son, Henry, hid under the side table and watched. Henry Cabot later related the tale to his grandson, Henry Cabot Lodge, who even later related it to his grandson, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.

When Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. was born, President Theodore Roosevelt dashed off a handwritten note to his father the very next day, telling him, "We are overjoyed."

It was a rare intellectual environment into which young Henry Cabot Lodge had been born. His grandfather and namesake was a major political figure; his family thrived in the literary and political center of America with personalities like Henry Adams, Theodore Roosevelt and Henry James visiting the house constantly. The senior Senator Henry Cabot Lodge was TR's most intimate friend and young Lodge (called "Cabot" by his friends) roamed freely in and out of the neighboring homes of Henry Adams and John Hay and often visited the White House.

This idyllic life was broken in 1909 when his beloved father, George Lodge, noted both as poet and war hero, died unexpectedly at the age of 35. Cabot had just turned seven years old.

After George Lodge's death, the son and grandfather — already bound by the same name — drew steadily closer until it almost seemed as if a generation hadn't intervened.

Cabot followed his grandfather's career with keen interest, particularly the battle over the League of Nations for which the elder Lodge is today best known. Cabot Lodge completed Middlesex Prep School where his high academic achievements competed for attention with his constant infringements of the school's strict code of behavior. He went on to Harvard and studied languages, eventually becoming fluent in French, German, Latin and Greek, a skill that would stand him in good stead in his many diplomatic posts. Completing Harvard *cum laude* in three years, Cabot Lodge chose a career in journalism. On a special trip to Europe he obtained interviews with Mussolini and the presidents of France and Austria and began a successful courtship of Emily Sears.

Returning home, he covered the 1924 Republican convention for the *Boston Transcript*, then translated his reports into French and cabled them to *Le Matin* in Paris with the result that his byline appeared on the front page of France's leading political newspaper when he was only 21 years old. Although it was the first convention young Cabot attended professionally, it would be the last for the aging Senator Henry Cabot Lodge. On November 9, his grandfather and namesake died. As William J. Miller wrote, "There was only one Henry Cabot Lodge now, and he was on his own."

Cabot became Washington correspondent for the *New York Herald Tribune* and his skill and intelligence, combined with the friendship of his grandfather's old allies like Senators William Borah and Hiram Johnson, placed him in the top ranks of journalists almost immediately. Arthur Krock of the *New York Times* told a story about Lodge from the 1928 Democratic convention, which both men covered as reporters. With the main hotel overcrowded, "I had waited a long while for an elevator in the lobby," Krock related, "and this tall, handsome young fellow beside me said, 'I'm going to walk up,' and I followed him toward the stairs. A Tammany thug was

LODGE
U.S. SENATOR

*

Lodge
FOR
PRESIDENT
1960

*

DRAFT
LODGE
for '64

*

*Larger items have been

reduced to 65% actual size



Henry Cabot Lodge, Sr.

Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.

sitting there to keep anybody but Tammany delegates from the mezzanine, where they were meeting. 'You can't go that way,' he said, jumping up and blocking it. 'Who says so?' asked the tall young man. 'I say so,' said the thug. The young man knocked him sprawling and we went up the stairs. 'Who are you?' I asked him. 'I'm Cabot Lodge of the *Herald Tribune*,' he said."

Despite his love of journalism, politics was never far away. As early as 1930 Congressman Fiorello LaGuardia was urging Lodge to run for the US Senate that year despite his being only 28. "Your personality, ability and incidently your name would, I feel confident, make your election certain," LaGuardia wrote, "Go to it."

Lodge waited another two years to enter politics, however, and then chose a more modest level of government, the Massachusetts state legislature. He won easily and soon had made a name for himself as a forceful, progressive and intensely honest public servant. In the midst of the Depression and the early days of the New Deal, Lodge took on the job of Chairman of the Labor Committee, and — to the amazement of those who had assumed he was just another well born reactionary — rewrote the state's labor laws and was hailed by state and national labor leaders. Easily re-elected in 1934, he set his sights on the post associated with his family; U.S. Senator.

Lodge first won a tough battle for the 1936 GOP Senate nomination, defeating Sinclair Weeks, and then took on a controversial Massachusetts legend; Governor James Michael Curley.

Curley, completing a term as governor and riding on

FDR's lengthy coattails, dismissed Lodge as "Little Boy Blue...blue-blooded, handsome and a boy." He sued to have Cabot's name removed from the ballot on the grounds that people would think they were voting for his grandfather, and sneered that Henry Cabot Lodge was "a young man who parts both his name and his hair in the middle."

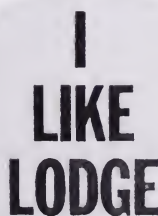
When Curley jeered that "When my youthful rival was still wearing diapers, I was serving in the halls of Congress," the *Boston Globe* suggested that Lodge could reply "When I was still wearing diapers, my opponent was serving a six month sentence in jail." Lodge waged a vigorous campaign, and while FDR carried the state by 174,000 votes, Lodge won the Senate seat by over 135,000.

In the shambles of Landon's loss to FDR, Henry Cabot Lodge was a bright exception for Republicans. The only Republican to win a Democratic seat, he joined a Republican caucus diminished to only 17 senators. He and another freshman senator with a famous Republican name, Robert Taft of Ohio, were immediately discussed as presidential possibilities for 1940. Senator Lodge proved to be a canny partisan scrapper who maximized the small Republican forces and frequently embarrassed the Democratic majority. He also urged his own party to grasp the challenges of the future and purge itself of its reactionary tendencies; "It must become a party of the people. It ought to go back to Abraham Lincoln and get some real liberality."

Since reaching adulthood, Henry Cabot Lodge had been active as an officer in the Army Reserve, establishing personal relationships with fellow officers like Douglas MacArthur and George Patton. Once, on field maneuvers,



*



*

Lodge heard General Patton state, "I'll give fifty dollars to anyone who captures a sonuvabitch named Eisenhower." Thinking this Eisenhower must be quite a soldier, Lodge sought him out and they became friends. Eventually Lodge would reach the rank of major general in the Army Reserve, and his military service gave him special insight into the needs of the armed forces as America neared World War II.

In the aftermath of Pearl Harbor, Senator (and then Captain) Lodge would often don his uniform and join troops in the battle zone for a first hand look at conditions, sometimes coming under direct fire. Up for re-election in 1942, his Democratic opponents criticized his military activities (dubbing him "Cappy Cabbie") and lined up to take him on. The voters, however, admired Lodge's daring and easily gave him a second term over Congressman Joseph Casey.

In the Senate, Lodge was recognized as an expert on military affairs and his tours of the front led to significant improvements in policies and procedures. Yet as the fighting grew fiercer, Henry Cabot Lodge chaffed at his civilian role. Finally, on February 1, 1944 Lodge met secretly with President Roosevelt at the White House to inform him, "Mr. President, I have decided to resign my seat in the Senate and go into combat duty." It was the first time since the Civil War that a senator had given up his seat for active duty. "Cabot, that's splendid!" responded the president enthusiastically.

To make certain: he wasn't sidelined in a desk job, Lodge flew to England to take a post with the Second Armored division before his decision became public. By the time the Senate clerk read his letter of resignation to an astonished Senate, he was already with his unit. Senator Arthur Vandenberg wrote in his diary, "In all my twenty years in the Senate no single episode ever thrilled me so deeply as the quiet drama which saw young Lodge in his usual Senate seat on a late afternoon in February and the next morning heard his resignation read at the desk after his overnight departure to the fighting front. No one, including myself, had any idea Cabot planned to quit the Senate and go to war. It was typical of him. He made no valedictory speech to his colleagues and there was no band to escort him to the station. He just quit the Senate and went."

During the war, Lodge served in North Africa, Italy, France and Germany, earning five battle stars, the Legion of Merit, the Bronze Star, the French Legion of Honor, the Croix de Guerre and other decorations. Mustered out at the end of 1945, he took quite a different stance than had his grandfather after World War I. Where the elder Lodge had led the fight against the League of Nations, Cabot made his first postwar speech advocating active leadership in the United Nations.

In 1946 Massachusetts Democratic Senator David Walsh was up for re-election and Lodge decided to challenge him. Walsh had filled the unexpired term of the first Senator Henry Cabot Lodge in 1926 and was still in the Senate twenty years. Walsh was the strongest vote getter in Massachusetts and when Lodge upset him in a landslide, the nation's press immediately called him a future president.

1946 was also the year that Cabot's younger brother John entered active politics by winning a seat in Congress from neighboring Connecticut. John Davis Lodge is a story in

himself. After a career in show business that included spells as a Hollywood star (playing Shirley Temple's father) and a dramatic lead on Broadway, he went on to Congress and was later elected governor of Connecticut.

In 1948 Henry Cabot Lodge set his presidential thoughts aside to work for his old ally, Michigan Senator Arthur Vandenberg. As Chairman of the 1948 Republican platform committee, Lodge's progressive views were evident in the forward-looking document adopted by the convention, but his hopes for Vandenberg were flattened by Tom Dewey's potent machine. President Truman hailed Lodge's platform and used it to outmaneuver the Republicans. He called Congress back into session and challenged the Republicans to pass their platform into law. Congressional Republicans under Robert Taft treated Truman's special session as the political trick that it was and refused to take any action, but, in doing so, played right into Truman's hands and allowed him to run against the "Do Nothing Congress." Truman was re-elected and the GOP lost the congressional majorities they had won only two years before.

As 1952 approached, Taft seemed assured of his party's presidential nomination (something he had sought several times without success). Unwilling to see the GOP turn its back on progressive principles, Henry Cabot Lodge became the driving force behind the move to nominate Dwight Eisenhower.

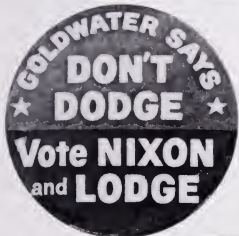
Senator Lodge formally approached his old wartime comrade in September of 1951. Eisenhower encouraged Lodge to run for president himself, but Lodge replied that only Ike could win the nomination and the election. Although Ike did not order Lodge to stop his efforts, neither did he lift a finger to help. Taking the lack of a "no" for "yes," Lodge immediately began organizing a national presidential campaign without an active candidate. Supported by Tom Dewey, Kansas Senator Frank Carlson and others, Lodge launched a "Draft Eisenhower" effort that came from behind to upset Taft in the New Hampshire primary and fight every inch of the way to the convention. Through most of the campaign Eisenhower remained on active military duty, joining the fight himself only three weeks before the convention.

Cabot Lodge ran a brilliant convention attack on what seemed to be an impregnable Taft lead and wound up with a first ballot victory for Eisenhower. Victory won, he finally turned back to his own Senate re-election campaign, which he had ignored during the Eisenhower battle.

He found two problems waiting for him; first, embittered Taft supporters in Massachusetts were determined to take revenge on Lodge for having defeated their hero and, second, the Democratic Senate nominee was a young congressman named John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

The Lodge-Kennedy rivalry is a great story. It began when Cabot Lodge's grandfather defeated JFK's grandfather (Boston Mayor John Fitzgerald) for the Senate in 1916. It carried over to 1962 when JFK's brother Ted battled Cabot's son George for the Senate. The final chapter of these two great political families has not yet been written.

The 1952 senate race was frantic and furious but far from bitter. The two intellectual politicians remained friendly and respectful. During the last frenzied week before the



election, Lodge and Kennedy found their cars stopped next to each other in traffic. Lodge leaned out the window and called, "Jack, isn't this a hard way to make a living?" Kennedy threw back his head with laughter and the two men parted with a friendly wave. Lodge later remarked, "I always found Jack Kennedy most likable." Kennedy recalled, "I've always been fond of Cabot."

"Cabot was simply overwhelmed by money," President Eisenhower stated later. Lodge spent \$58,266 on his campaign. Kennedy spent \$349,646, a better than 6-to-1 ratio. Also working against Lodge were the Taft Republicans. JFK's father, Joseph Kennedy, had always been far more conservative than his sons and was quite close to Taft personally. He encouraged a pro-Taft newspaper publisher to establish an Independents for Kennedy committee, and shortly thereafter the publisher received a \$500,000 loan from Joe Kennedy to save his ailing newspaper.

Despite all, it was a close result; 1,207,105 for Kennedy and 1,138,352 for Lodge. Henry Cabot Lodge was back in private life but he wouldn't stay there long.

Lodge had several lucrative offers from private business and was considering them when President-elect Eisenhower contacted him with a request that he take the post as United Nations Ambassador, to be granted cabinet status second only to the Secretary of State. Previously, the Soviet Union had been very successful at outmaneuvering the USA at the UN, but Lodge brought not only a knowledge of international affairs, military tactics and fluent skills in several foreign languages to the job, he also carried a cunning skill in political infighting born of 13 years in the US Senate and 4 years in the Massachusetts state legislature. In a short time, Lodge turned the dull UN sessions into a fascinating clash of ideologies. Throughout the Cold War fifties, the tall, handsome aristocrat forcefully put forth American principles and interests with logic, eloquence and integrity. He was soon a regular sight on America's television sets, simultaneously defending the US against Russia and the State Department against Senator Joe McCarthy's charges of Communist infiltration. The picture of Lodge holding up a large American seal from the US Embassy in Moscow to point out where the Soviets had hidden an eavesdropping microphone became one of the classic images of the era.

As the end of the Eisenhower presidency neared, polls found Lodge one of the most popular Republican politicians in the nation. At least one button reading **LODGE FOR PRESIDENT 1960** exists and the Republican convention convened to nominate Vice President Richard Nixon for president, with two names under serious consideration as his running mate; Lodge and Kentucky's canny and colorful Senator Thruston Morton. Tom Dewey summed it up at the end of a late night leadership meeting; "If we want to send the delegates home happy, we ought to agree on Morton...but if we want to make the people happy, it should be Lodge." Lodge it was.

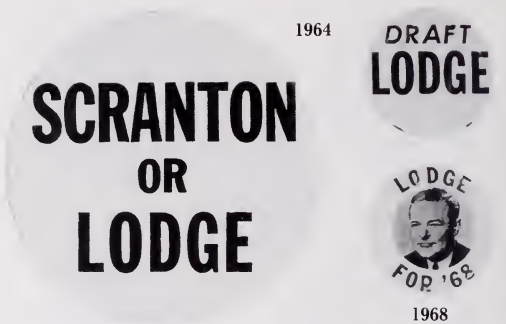
After accepting the nomination, Lodge returned to his job at the UN because of the ongoing Congo crisis. He kicked off his campaign on September 3 with a barnstorming tour of New York complete with chomping a Nathan's hot dog at Coney Island with Gov. Nelson Rockefeller. His vigorous good looks proved a campaign asset and when he shared a Los Angeles platform with then-cator Ronald Reagan, one woman was heard to murmur, "Aren't they divine?" Lodge campaign tours drew large, enthusiastic crowds and a poll showed Lodge to be more popular than Nixon, Kennedy or Lyndon Johnson. He did have his problems; he advocated aid to parochial schools (something he had always supported as a Senator) and pledged that the Nixon-Lodge administration would be the first to appoint a Black cabinet officer. Nixon insisted that he retract his statements on both issues. Some campaign staffers objected to Lodge's insistence that he pace himself by taking an hour's nap each day, yet by the campaign's end he was the only candidate who had never lost a day of campaigning due to illness.

In the end, Nixon-Lodge lost to Kennedy-Johnson by an eyelash and Henry Cabot Lodge was again a private citizen. He wouldn't stay one very long this time either.

Sorting through a variety of offers, Lodge accepted the post of Director General of the Atlantic Institute, and developed a program of international action. He visited the White House to present the program to President John Kennedy but found that Kennedy wanted to talk about something else.

"Cabot, I'd like to persuade you to go to Vietnam," the president told his old rival. "If you need me," came the reply. Within weeks Henry Cabot Lodge had taken up a new role, that of US Ambassador to Vietnam, just as the Kennedy administration was plunging head first into the longest and most unsuccessful war in American history.

His role was crucial. On one hand he struggled with a corrupt South Vietnamese government more interested in money than victory while on the other hand he struggled with a US military that continued to send glowing reports back to Washington on how the Communist enemy was on the verge of collapse. When Defense Secretary Robert McNamara came to Vietnam for a first hand look, Lodge allowed the generals to carry him through the normal careful tour of favorable sites (always presented as if they were typical), then pounced on McNamara at the end of the tour and gave him the facts of America's tenuous military status and the near worthlessness of the Saigon government. A shaken McNamara took Lodge's story back to Kennedy. Lodge was set to return to Washington for a



direct meeting with President Kennedy when word came from Dallas that the president had been killed.

Lodge stayed on duty in Vietnam while Lyndon Johnson pulled his new administration together, but other political forces were at work as the election year of 1964 began.

The Republican Party had no shortage of talented candidates for president in 1964 but each possessed fatal flaws. Nelson Rockefeller had energy, charm and money but his divorce and remarriage had seriously wounded him with voters. Barry Goldwater had integrity, wit and charisma but his frank espousal of conservatism left many voters uncertain that he could be trusted. Richard Nixon had brains, experience and organizational support but had lost his last two elections. Other possibilities like George Romney and Bill Scranton had been governors less than two years. That may explain why the 1964 campaign began with such an unexpected surprise.

Although former president Eisenhower often mentioned Lodge in private conversations as a potential president, the political pundits had long since written him off. He hadn't won an election since 1946 and was working as a Democratic administration's representative to an unpopular war. Polling expert George Gallup didn't even bother listing his name on his polls. "I can't imagine anyone could possibly be interested in Lodge," he said.

Eisenhower, however, talking to a *New York Times* reporter about the various 1964 hopefuls said, "I think they should all talk common sense." Then added, "If Lodge comes back it will quickly become apparent that he talks more common sense than anyone." In New Hampshire, a handful of political amateurs launched a "Draft Lodge" campaign in March's New Hampshire primary, despite expensive and high profile campaigns by Rockefeller and Goldwater, both of whom spent weeks of personal campaigning and huge sums of money in New Hampshire. With no money but what was in their pockets, the Lodge supporters set up a shoestring campaign to convince voters to go to the trouble of writing in Lodge's name instead of voting for the candidates on the ballot. To complicate matters, Nixon's friends organized a write-in campaign for him as well.

When the votes were counted the nation was astonished to learn that Lodge had swept past the field (33,007 to Goldwater's 20,692, Rocky's 19,504 and Nixon's 15,587) without lifting a finger.

The next cover of LIFE showed Lodge emerging from the Saigon embassy flanked by Marine guards and gushed, "The stunning New Hampshire write-in victory for Lodge stimulated the GOP like a jolt of adrenalin." Polls showed Lodge surging to the front of the pack, but 1964 was not a year when mere public support would decide anything. Barry Goldwater's guerilla army of devoted conservatives had taken over the party organization at the grassroots level and didn't need popular support to deliver the nomination to their hero.

After intense personal campaigning, Rockefeller managed to best the absent Lodge in the May Oregon primary, thereby ending a campaign that Shakespeare might have called "such stuff as dreams are made on."

His career as a potential president was over. The delegates from New Hampshire still voted for him at the convention and LODGEN '68 buttons appeared after the GOP was crushed in November, but Henry Cabot Lodge

was never part of the electoral game again. His diplomatic career went on for many years however. Having served as an ambassador under Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson, he went on to serve again under Nixon, Ford and Carter. When death came to him in 1985 at the age of 82, President Reagan hailed him as "a very distinguished American" and Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis ordered all flags flown at half staff.

Henry Cabot Lodge was the seventh member of his family to serve in the U.S. Senate, along with having various governors, ambassadors and scholars in his lineage. In our current era, when candidates are packaged as "regular guys" complete with rented family dogs and campaign hairdressers, it is interesting to look at one of the finest examples of America's aristocratic tradition, in which a lifetime of training and education is placed at the public's service and, in doing so, creates a standard to which all who seek public office can aspire.★

THE ROORBACK TRADITION (continued from page 11)

Linn was, at times in his life, also an alcoholic. Simeon DeWitt, Linn's brother-in-law, was compelled to find another agent for his Ithaca affairs in 1822 on account of Linn's drinking and irresolute ways. "Whatever regard I may have for him as a family connection," wrote DeWitt, my interest "demands from me on this occasion to discharge him instantly from all concerns in my business." Linn, for whom Linn Street is named, was a lawyer and orator of some note. During his long life, he never denied being the author of Ithaca's Roorback letter.

After Linn's Roorback appeared in print, editors found Roorbacks everywhere. On October 16, 1844, "The Chronicle" announced, "Another Roorback Exposed," and on October 30 of the same year, "The Chronicle" editor sniped that an item in the "Ithaca Journal" is "a Roorback, out and out." Since then, Roorbacks of all varieties have surfaced amid the bluster and clamor of America's political campaigns. Though there was nothing new in 1844 about political trickery, it took an episode in Ithaca to give such things a name.★

PLAYGROUNDS (continued from page 22)

a course in play, which was widely used by schools and colleges to train play leaders.

The marked increase in the number of cities which established playgrounds in the years immediately after the association was founded is one indication of its accomplishments. During the six years prior to 1906, playgrounds were established in 26 cities. By the time President Taft was renominated in 1912, a total of 158 cities had started playgrounds, or an average of 26 cities per year. The association's emphasis upon the responsibility of the municipality to provide playgrounds and recreation centers helped to bring a general acceptance of the idea of tax support, and its efforts to convince community leaders that qualified leadership was more important than elaborate equipment met with qualified success.

In the years preceding World War I, the scope of the movement was gradually enlarged, as recreation became accepted as a universal need and not merely a need of congested underprivileged communities. There emerged the concept of recreation service for the entire community, with emphasis upon music, drama, arts, and civic activities. Neighborhood groups were organized to help plan and conduct the program; citywide holiday celebrations, pageants, and festivals were carried out. Comprehensive recreation surveys disclosed facts concerning existing opportunities for recreation, unmet recreation needs, delinquency, accidents, street play, and other related subjects. They helped focus public attention upon the need for citywide recreation systems and provided information which was useful in organizing municipal programs.★

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East Brunswick, NJ
August 5 - 8, 1993

THE ROORBACK TRADITION IN AMERICAN POLITICS

By Carol Kammen

Originally published in the *Ithaca Journal*, December 5 and 12, 1981

Not every community can boast that it has added a word or a concept to our national lexicon. While Ithaca has done just that, the city might not want to crow. The word in question is Roerbach, or Roorback, defined as any campaign story which seems to have little authenticity or which is an out-and-out fabrication.

As William Safire, who minces no words, defines it in "Safire's Political Dictionary," a Roorback is a fictitious slander, an outrageous lie told to smear a political figure during a campaign. Safire quotes James Reston who declared in 1976 that a false story circulating about presidential candidate Jimmy Carter was a "roorback."

On March 27, 1947, the Chicago Daily News announced "The roorback stage of the closing days of the campaign broke wide open today with appeals to racial and religious prejudice coming to the surface in many sections of the city." Because such last minute political stories are difficult to check out, many newspapers refuse to print them for fear of falling for a 'roorback' — a political hoax.

In 1860 one newspaper cautioned its readers, "Look out for the Roorbacks. As the day of election draws near it will be well for Republicans to be on the look-out for all manner of false reports having no foundation." And in 1876, Rutherford B. Hayes commented in his diary that "You can denounce all charges of [my] hostilities to foreigners as voters and office-holders as utterly unfounded. They are the merest roorbacks."

The word can also function as a verb as in these two 19th century examples: "A Maysville, Kentucky, newspaper in commenting about a political hoax in that city could not help Roorbacking over the discovery," (1848) and the "Phoenix" of Sacramento announced in 1858 that "One of the distinguished members of this ill-fated county has 'Roorbacked' it, and 'gone a cool 100 better.'"

Roorback, or Roerbach, as it was originally written, had its origins in Ithaca during the presidential campaign of 1844. The local newspapers were full of taunts and warnings about the candidates, of whom there were three. The Liberty Party, which met in convention in Buffalo, backed James G. Birney. The Whig party nominated Henry Clay for President, and the Democratic Party, after maneuvering around ex-President Martin Van Buren and his supporters, selected James K. Polk of Tennessee. Polk is generally considered to be the first "dark horse" nominee for President, although his candidacy had been supported by Andrew Jackson and the historian George Bancroft.

Although the Whigs taunted their rivals with cries of "Who is James K. Polk?," the Democrats backed their little known candidate and even withstood a challenge to his candidacy from John Tyler. Tyler had formerly been a Whig politician; his efforts to win re-nomination for President made him the first United States President to fail to stand for a second term. Tyler has been called a President without a party, for neither his own party, the Whigs, nor the Democrats whom he wooed, wanted him.

There were several crucial issues during the 1844 campaign. Polk talked of United States expansion to the Pacific ocean. Clay and the Whigs attempted to sidestep the issue of expansion of the United States into Texas —which was in some degree a question of the addition of a slave state to a country divided between states slave and free. Birney ran on an Anti-Slavery platform and repeatedly denounced the expansion of slavery anywhere, but he did not confront the issue of Texas.

The outcome of the election clearly depended upon New York's 36 electoral votes.

On August 21, 1844, amid a flurry of political announcements, both reasonable and outrageous, there appeared on page 2 of The Ithaca Chronicle an unassuming letter addressed to the editor from "An Abolitionist": "Will you have the goodness," he wrote, "to insert in your paper the following extract from Roerbach's Tour through the Western and Southern States in 1836?" That the letter was unsigned was not unusual and that the newspaper reprinted it was common practice, for newspapers then were in the habit of picking up previously published articles from other papers and from books.

The piece, located on the sixth column of the page, ran for some seven inches and gave a description of conditions at a campsite somewhere in the south where slaves, destined for the cotton fields of Alabama and Mississippi, had spent the night:

"It was a camp of negro slave drivers just packing up to start," began the account. "They had about three hundred slaves with them...the female slaves were, some of them, sitting on logs of wood...and a great many little black children were warming themselves by the fire." Nearby were "about two hundred male slaves manacled and chained to each other."

The excerpt ended with the statement that "Forty-three of these unfortunate beings had been purchased, I was informed, of the Hon. James K. Polk, the present speaker of the House of Representatives; the mark of the branding iron with the initials of his name on their shoulders



distinguished them from the rest.” This apparently innocuous article in an obscure newspaper was to have startling repercussions and to eventually win for Ithaca a place of notoriety in America’s political history.

The Roerbach letter appeared in the “Ithaca Chronicle” on August 21, 1844, amid a flurry of political notices. It was given no more attention than other items on the page, but it was something of a political bombshell for it reminded upstate voters that the Democratic presidential candidate, James K. Polk, was a slaveholder. The issue of slavery in 1844 was a political hot potato — to be against the institution was to alienate Southern voters. In a close race, Polk could not afford any losses or the refusal of Democratic voters to go to the polls.

Almost as soon as the article appeared in print it was denounced as a forgery. On September 23, the “Albany Argus” complained that Roerbach was surely a fictitious name. “Don’t undertake to palm off on us,” the paper warned, “your ‘Roorbacks’ [sic] and straw men that nobody can know.” The “Spirit of the Times,” however, noted that the Roerbach Forgery had been traced back to a Mr. Linn of Ithaca, “a violent abolitionist and an intemperate man.” And so the plot began to thicken.

Caught in the middle, of course, was the “Ithaca Chronicle” which published the original letter. In its edition of October 2, the paper disclaimed credit for the fraud and its editors explained that the letter, in manuscript, had been brought to the paper by one Daniel McKinney, Esq. of Ithaca, a man of unimpeachable character. The newspaper had acted, protested the editor, in all good faith. The editor insisted that McKinney had not mentioned where he had secured the excerpt, but that it had not appeared in “Roerbach’s 1836 Tour” as originally announced — as there was no such book.

The “Chronicle” insisted that McKinney had indeed received the manuscript from William Linn of Ithaca who had protested to McKinney that he could not hand in the letter himself. The “Chronicle” added that Linn was a Loco Foco officeholder and a candidate for justice of the

peace, and a week later the paper huffed that had they known the origin of the Roerbach letter, they would have immediately suspected that it was a forgery.

In something of a gloating manner “The Ithaca Chronicle” pointed out that “this forgery so denounced by the ‘Albany Argus’ [a Democratic paper] and loco loco papers is pinned upon the shoulders of a loco loco office holder.” The consequences, waxed “The Chronicle,” “must rest on the loco loco party [i.e., the Democrats].” Neither McKinney nor “The Chronicle” were to blame, for each, claimed the paper, had played an unknowing part in the hoax.

What is not readily apparent to the modern reader in all this is the fact that the Whig Party had been accused by the Democrats, in 1844 and earlier, of not conducting fair political campaigns. “The Ithaca Chronicle,” edited by D.D., A., and S. Spencer, attempted to put itself and its party, the Whigs, at a distance from fraudulent actions which would only have added fuel to those Democratic charges.

The Loco Focos had emerged as the radical wing of the Democratic Party in the year 1836. They were so called because the party regulars turned out the gas lights at their convention when the radicals wanted to remain and, in order to continue the meeting, the radicals lighted the hall with the new fangled, self igniting, friction matches called ‘loco-focos’. They then proceeded to formulate their own platform and to nominate their own ticket, thus splitting off from the regular Democrats and with the Tammany bosses. By 1844, the Loco Focos were back in the Democratic Party; to the Whigs, all Democrats were merely Loco Focos.

“The Ithaca Chronicle” charged in 1844 that a Democrat — Linn — had written a fraudulent letter to the Whig Paper in order to trick that paper into printing an embarrassment which the Democrats could then denounce.

That might have been true, but it seems a rather intricate plot to have hatched when we consider that the subject of the Roerbach letter was evidence of Polk’s ridding himself of slaves — a fact which might be construed as embarrassing to Polk. Yet, Polk was generally known to have been a slave holder — a fact he did not renounce, but one, especially in New York, he did not publicize. “The Chronicle” even stated on October 2, 1844 “that James K. Polk is a slave holder, no one pretends to deny. It is useless to invent circumstances of special atrocity to connect him with slave holding.”

The real mystery of the episode of the Roerbach letter rests with the character and intentions of William Linn of Ithaca. Was he really devious enough to perpetrate a fraud that seemingly smeared Polk, his own candidate, in order to strike at the Whig Party? The answer is probably yes, though concrete evidence is hard to come by. William Linn of Ithaca was a creative man, and learned. He wrote a “History of Thomas Jefferson,” published in Ithaca in 1834 and 1842, compiled “Momus at Home or a Feast of Good Things for the Merry and Melancholy by a Bon-Vivant.”

(Continued on page 9)

Modern Third Party Rarities

By Jon Curtis

I have watched the last five elections and seen item after item declared "rare." In many cases, these items may well be rare, but if you want to see some really rare pieces, become a collector of third party items. I collect all parties since 1896, but specialize in third parties because, being a teacher of political history, I believe these parties play a unique role in our political development. Since these parties have few funds available, they tend to use buttons as a small source of income. The yield is not great because most collectors don't know how to contact these groups, or the collectors don't want to be put on their mailing lists. Over the last ten years, a real interest has developed in Eugene Debs Socialist items and the corresponding auction results have reflected this. Recently, a Thurmond-Wright 1948 States' Rights jugate brought nearly \$10,000 in auction. Yet, there are still some excellent bargains in early third party items for the beginning collector.

The APIC began to grow rapidly in the late 1960's, but even with expanded membership, the opportunity to add rare items to one's collection presents itself every time there is an election. The following is a description of at least one reasonably rare item from each election since 1972. Start looking now and see how often you see these items on anybody's auction or sales list. That will give you an idea how rare some of these newer items really are.

1972

1972 represents the initial appearance of the Libertarian Party in politics. The party nominated John Hospers and Theodora Nathan and the ticket drew slightly in excess of 2,000 votes. It has improved its showing in subsequent years till it is now the largest drawing third party in American politics. The Libertarian Party is interesting because of the political position it takes. Basically they say the least government is the best government. They do not believe that the government should artificially regulate the economy through subsidies or agencies like the FTC, FCC, etc. This appears to be a very conservative position that would appeal to Republicans. On the other hand, the Libertarian Party takes the same position regarding social issues. Therefore censorship of any kind is also opposed. That is a liberal Democratic position. This is what makes the party so interesting. In 1972 they issued a blue and white 1 3/4" name button with Hospers and Nathan's name on it and the phrases BREAK FREE FROM BIG BROTHER and VOTE LIBERTARIAN on it. This button has appeared on auction lists, but very rarely. Since this is the first Libertarian Party button it might be a good place to start for one interested in third parties.

1976

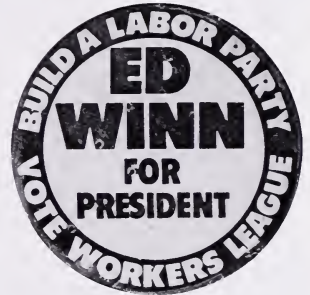
The Libertarian Party also produced the rarest of the 1976 third party buttons, and it is truly one of the most magnificent of the third party buttons. It is the 2 1/2" jugate of MacBride and Bergland in blue, black, and orange with the 1972 slogans repeated and the two men's heads on caricature bodies breaking a chain open. Keep track to see how often you see this one on lists. It's worth the investment for its art work alone.

1980

The election of 1980 represented the last appearance of the Peace and Freedom Party running its own candidates for president and vice president. Since that time it has endorsed left wing candidates of other parties. The PFP nominated women at both ends of its ticket. Maureen Smith and Elizabeth Cervantes Barron were the candidates and drew just over 18,000 votes. The PFP issued a 2 1/2" pink and black cello with the phrase WOMEN RUN FOR OFFICE NOT COFFEE IN THE Peace AND Freedom Party and MS. SMITH PRESIDENT, MS. BARRON V.P. To my knowledge this is the only political button that has two female candidates for president and vice president on it. I finally obtained one from a woman who was the PFP Coordinator for the Oakland, California area. I wrote to her, heard nothing for several weeks, and then this button showed up. I have never seen another example available on any sale or auction list.

1984

1984 marked the first jugate for the Workers World Party. The WWP has been around for a quarter century as a break-away Communist party. It is very pro-Castro. One of the historical problems with parties of the left is the tendency to fractionalize themselves when dominant figures in the leftist movements come into political disagreement. Remember when some of the original members of the Socialist Party broke away to form the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party. Moscow then ordered these two parties to unify. In the 1930's James P. Cannon led his Trotskyites out of the CP and formed the Socialist Workers Party. The Workers World Party issued its first button in 1980, a name button for its candidates Deidre Griswold and Larry Holmes. The 1984 button is a colorful orange, yellow, and black 2 1/2" cello jugate of presidential candidate Larry Holmes and vice presidential candidate Gloria LaRiva. It is actually one of the most colorful buttons from 1984. I have only seen this button on a list one time.



1988

There are three buttons from third parties in 1988 that will give you a run for your money. Undoubtedly the most difficult will be the Right to Life Party button for its presidential candidate William Marra. This button was not available at a single bourse table at the APIC National Convention in Milwaukee in 1989. I know of one other example besides the one I acquired directly from Mr. Marra. I also acquired another 1988 button directly from a presidential candidate. In October, 1988 the union workers at Nicolet Paper in De Pere, Wisconsin were on strike against International Paper Co. which owned Nicolet. It was a very tough strike. To show support for

the strikers the presidential candidate for the communist Workers League Party, Ed Winn, came to De Pere to deliver a speech. I invited him to my class in political history as none of my students had ever debated with a communist sympathizer. He came to the class wearing the 2 1/2" red and yellow cello that accompanies this article. He gave me his button and the two that his campaign manager who was with him had in exchange for purchasing a subscription to their newspaper *YOUNG SOCIALIST*. I gave the last two buttons to collector friends. Lastly is the 2 1/2" green, black, and white picture cello for Populist Party Vice Presidential candidate Dr. Floyd Parker. Parker was the replacement for Bo Gritz, when Gritz decided to run for Congress as a Republican in Nevada. There is a much more common mate to this button picturing the Populist presidential candidate David Duke. The Parker for vice president is uncommon. A few members of the **Bullmoose Third Party** chapter acquired the button through an address published in the chapter newsletter.

As we enter another election year keep your eye out not just for hopeful buttons and Democratic and Republican buttons, but third party buttons as well. You will be pleasantly surprised at the interest they will draw. As a start, the Libertarian Party and the Socialist Party held their national nominating conventions in Chicago in the fall of 1991. ★

POLITICS and SKULLDUGGERY

EDWARD WARD CARMACK OF TENNESSEE

By Peggy A. Dillard

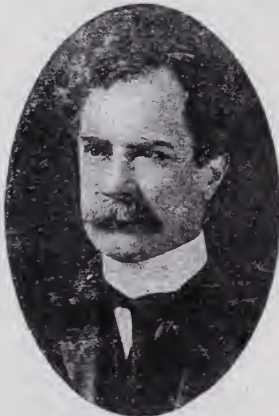
Tennessee has always had more than its share of colorful politicians. Edward Ward Carmack, a handsome, dashing figure, was one such colorful and influential figure just after the turn of the century.

A strong Prohibitionist and Free Silver Bryan man, Carmack was first elected to the House of Representatives in 1896, where he served two terms. He was then elected to the Senate in 1901, where he served only one term before being defeated by the former Governor, Bob Taylor. In 1908, Carmack ran against the incumbent Governor, Malcolm "Ham" Patterson, again suffering defeat.

Carmack subsequently became the editor of the Nashville Tennessean, where he loved "mixing it up" in print. His sarcastic, bombastic and vitriolic journalistic style won him many admirers and an equal number of

enemies. Carmack had launched a bitter journalistic attack on the liquor interests in Tennessee, which he thought to be in cahoots with the Governor and his political machine. Writing a series of editorials, referring to Duncan Cooper as one of the members of this machine, Carmack pledged to put an end to the machine. Col. Cooper was becoming more and more agitated with Carmack's references to him; he finally warned Carmack that "if my name appears again, the town will not be big enough to hold us both."

Carmack, unable to resist, wrote another editorial about Cooper, a showcase of sarcasm and ridicule. On November 9, 1908, a thoroughly enraged Cooper, armed and accompanied by his son, Robin, confronted Carmack on the streets of Nashville. Conflicting reports were made



EDWARD W. CARMACK

The SALOON IS AGAINST Him.
Are YOU?

~~~~~  
Shall the Machine **RULE?**  
or the People  
~~~~~



GOV. MALCOLM R. PATTERSON
CANDIDATE FOR RE-ELECTION

Endorsement by a Second
Term is Democratic



regarding the incident, but according to a woman bystander, Cooper made threatening remarks and gestures to Carmack, who in turn drew his pistol. Carmack fired two shots, both of which wounded Robin, who had jumped in front of his father. Robin then drew and fired three shots at Carmack, fatally wounding him.

The public killing stunned the people of Tennessee. Many believed that the killing was a premeditated act on behalf of the liquor industry, which Carmack had railed against. Carmack's newspaper fanned the flames of public indignation by running a huge picture of Carmack on the front page, under a headline reading "Senator Carmack was shot down in cold blood; Editor of Tennessean waylaid and shot on the way to His Room; Sen. E.W. Carmack assassinated by Col. Duncan D. Cooper and his Son, Robin; Murder premeditated; Deliberately Planned and Executed in Cold-Blooded Style." The article also accused Governor Patterson with being a part of the conspiracy to kill Carmack.

The public grieving, unparalleled in the State's history, galvanized the forces of prohibition. Carmack, now elevated to martyrdom, became a figurehead in the battle against the "demon rum." Eventually, prohibition measures passed overwhelmingly, despite the Governor's opposition.

More influential in death than he ever was in life, Carmack continued to influence events in the State. When the trial of the Coopers reached its end, both Coopers were found guilty of second degree murder and were sentenced to 20 years each in prison. Upon appeal, however, Robin Cooper was granted a new trial and his father's conviction was upheld. Within minutes of the announcement of the results of the appeal, the Governor issued a pardon for Duncan Cooper.

News of the Cooper pardon, though not unexpected, was sensationalized throughout the nation. Facing public indignation and inevitable defeat in the general election, Patterson withdrew his candidacy, making room for the election of Ben Hooper, only the second Republican Governor since the Civil War. Never in the State's history had the death of one man so influenced future events.★

NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN

SENATOR CARMACK IS SHOT DOWN IN COLD BLOOD

EDITOR OF TENNESSEAN
WAYLAIED AND SHOT ON
HIS WAY TO HIS ROOM

CARMACK'S HOME
STUNNED BY NEWS
OF TRAGIC MURDER

Senator E. W. Carmack, Editor of the Nashville Tennessean, was shot down in cold blood on his way to his room at the Hotel Tennessean, Nashville, Tennessee, this morning.



SEN. W. MORGAN
IS SHOT DOWN IN
MURDER ASSAULT

SEN. MORGAN IS SHOT DOWN IN
MURDER ASSAULT

THE KING HORSE
HAS RECEIVED A
SHRIMP MESSAGE

MESSAGES FROM
LOVING FRIENDS
OVER THE STATE

SEN. PATTERSON
CONTRADICTS HIS
OWN STATEMENT

THREE WEEKS OF
BEST IS THE NEW
LAFAY PANGLOSS

CHARLIE HALLECK DAY

By John Pendergrass

September 13, 1962 was a big day in Northwest Indiana. Former president Dwight D. Eisenhower came to the small town of Rensselaer to honor the area's favorite son, Congressman Charles A. Halleck.

Ike's visit was the first stop on an eight day campaign swing designed to boost Republican chances in the upcoming November elections. Since Halleck was a fourteen term incumbent from a bedrock GOP area, Eisenhower's appearance was really more of a tribute to an old friend and supporter.

Charlie Halleck Day honored the House Minority Leader, one of the most loyal and durable of all Republican congressmen. Ike flew to Purdue University, telling reporters he was "getting a bang out of getting back into the political harness again." Forty miles away, at the Jasper County Courthouse, in Rensselaer, Ike made a few brief remarks before travelling to nearby St. Joseph's College to lay the cornerstone of a new Student Union Center named for the Congressman. Later that evening, over 20,000 gathered to eat barbecued chicken and hear Eisenhower criticize the growth of big government under the Democrats and the Kennedy farm program. Of course, he warmly praised Halleck.



Charlie Halleck, a dominant figure in the Republican party throughout most of the middle third of the twentieth century, was deserving of Eisenhower's encomium. He was first elected to the House in 1935 and gained national attention when he nominated his fellow Hoosier Wendell Willkie at the 1940 Republican National Convention. Halleck became majority leader in 1947 when his party gained control of the house, working closely with Speaker Joseph Martin. He endorsed Thomas Dewey's bid for the

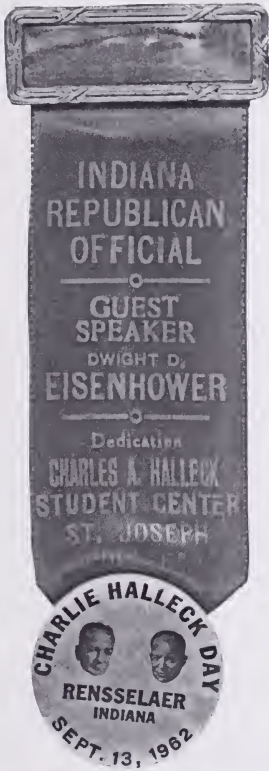
presidential nomination in 1948 and worked hard to deliver part of the pro-Taft Indiana delegation for the Governor. Halleck thought he had a firm commitment from Dewey for the vice-presidential nomination, but the second spot went to Earl Warren.

Charlie Halleck's name, along with that of Richard Nixon, Walter Judd, Dan Thornton and Arthur Langlie, appeared on the list of possible Vice Presidential picks that Ike drew up at the 1952 Convention. Eisenhower's election that fall was accompanied by a Republican win in the House, and Halleck again became the Majority Leader. Two years later, when the Democrats regained control, Halleck was anxious to challenge Joe Martin for the Minority Leader's slot. Eisenhower, fearing in-party fighting, persuaded Halleck to wait. Following the 1958 election, the Republicans were in dire straits and Halleck came forward to narrowly edge Martin for the top GOP spot in the House. He proved to be a more aggressive and partisan Minority Leader than his predecessor.

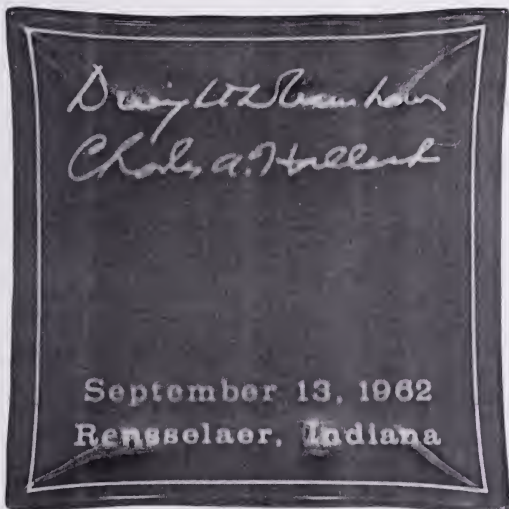
During the Kennedy years, Halleck teamed with Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen for a weekly press conference that was quickly dubbed "The Ev and Charlie Show". Halleck was a staunch supporter of the 1964 civil rights bill, persuading many conservative Republicans to come aboard. His backing, although overshadowed by Dirksen's contribution in the Senate, was vital for passage. Lawrence O'Brien later called Halleck "the unsung hero" in the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Halleck backed Barry Goldwater in the 1964 election. After the terrible GOP losses that year, the house Republicans decided they needed a younger, more attractive leader and turned to Gerald Ford. Halleck retired in 1968.★

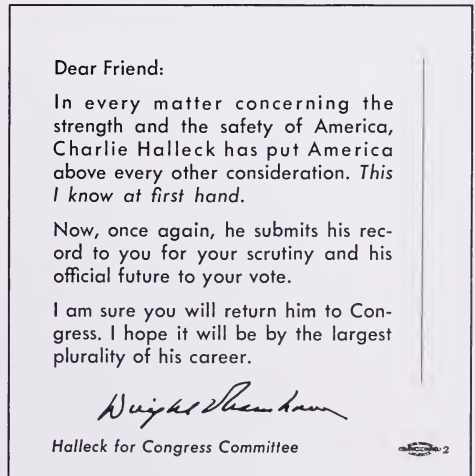
<p>No 4194</p> <p>Rensselaer, Indiana St. Joe College Campus Starting 5:00 P.M. C.S.T. Chicken Barbecue Donation \$1.50</p>	 <p>CHARLIE HALLECK DAY Republican Leader, U. S. Congress RENSELAEER, INDIANA St. Joe College Campus</p> <p>ADDRESS BY Hon. Dwight D. Eisenhower</p> <p>7:30 P.M. Prevailing Time</p> <p>THURSDAY, SEPT. 13, 1962</p>	<p>No 4194</p> 
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Postcard



Ashtray



Reverse — Postcard Message

VOTE Y

LET US VOTE

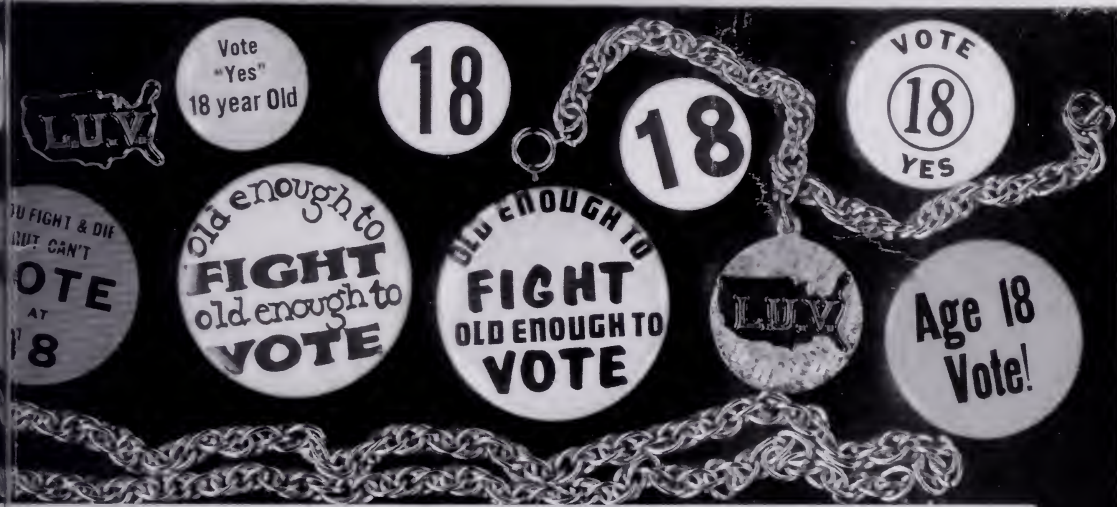


VOTE Y

VOTING AGE

YES 18

COMMITTEE



YES 18

COALITION

McNARY FOR VICE PRESIDENT IN SEARCH OF AN ITEM

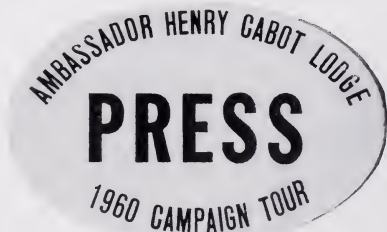
By Frank Cherry

For over twenty years, I have been collecting material for the Vice-Presidential candidates. For those two decades I have sought a button or ribbon for Charles L. McNary, Willkie's running mate.

In the early 1970's I contacted Stephen Bibler (APIC #138), an "old-time" Oregon collector. He had lived and collected political material in Oregon since the 1950's. In all that time he had never found anything pertaining to McNary. Nothing for his US Senate races and nothing for his 1940 run for Vice-President.

Sometime in early 1972 I came across a LIFE magazine dated September 9, 1940. On page 33 there was a large photo of US Senator McNary at his notification ceremony held in Salem, Oregon. Behind the Senator on the speakers platform is a large crowd. Three of the men in the background have ribbons pinned to their suits. Could they be McNary for Vice-President ribbons? It would take thirteen years for my guess to be proven correct.

In 1985, the APIC held its National Convention in Seattle, Washington. The last day of the Convention, I happened to stop by the table of John Gearhart of Portland, Oregon. I told him about my long search for anything from Oregon for McNary in 1940. I told him I had a magazine from 1940 with a photo of McNary's notification, where people were wearing ribbons. He smiled, and handed me a photocopy of a ribbon he had just acquired in Oregon. That photocopy was of the ribbon photographed here — a McNary for Vice President notification ribbon. I was in shock. Quickly, I arranged to purchase it from him. A week later, the ribbon arrived in the mail. My search for a McNary for Vice President item was finally over.★



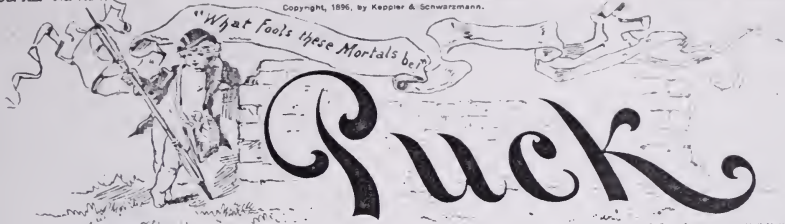
Metal Lapel Pin



VOL. XL. No. 1021.

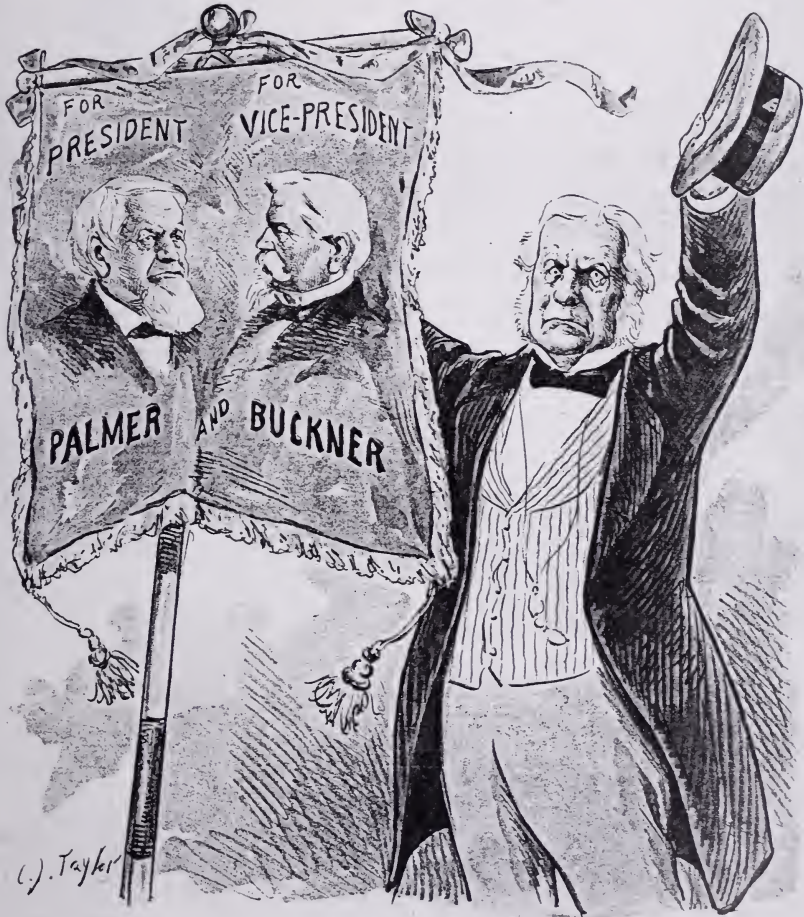
PUCK BUILDING, New York, September 30th, 1896.
Copyright, 1896, by Keppler & Schwarzmann.

PRICE TEN CENTS.



Puck

Entered at N. Y. P. O. as Second-class Mail Matter.



TRUE DEMOCRACY IS SAFE!

SOUND MONEY DEMOCRAT. — We may not elect our ticket this time, but we've put the party in shape for 1900.

THE STORY BEHIND THE BUTTON:

PLAYGROUNDS

By Robert Rouse

The American recreation movement is rooted in the games our colonial forbearers played on the village green and the traditions immigrant groups brought with them. But it was not until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that it became a formal and formidable force in our national life. In 1853 New York City purchased the large tract of land now known as Central Park. In 1867 San Francisco acquired the 1000 acre tract of sand dunes and marshes which was transformed into Golden Gate Park twenty years later. By 1892 over 100 cities had acquired land for parks, but few of these areas were used for active recreation.

More to the point, in 1885 the first playground was established. It was a large sand pile placed in the yard of the Children's Mission on Parmenter Street in Boston through the efforts of the Massachusetts Emergency and Hygiene Association. Each day an average of fifteen children used the facility, which was open three days a week for six weeks during July and August. This successful experiment was continued in succeeding years, and by 1887 ten centers had been opened. During the first years the sand piles were in mission yards, but by 1894 all the sand-gardens or playgrounds, as they came to be called, were on school property. Operating funds were provided by the Massachusetts Emergency and Hygiene Association until 1899, when the city council appropriated \$3,000 toward meeting the cost.

The success of the Boston sand gardens prompted similar efforts elsewhere, and at least ten other cities had established playgrounds before the turn of the century. In virtually every instance the initiative and funds were provided by philanthropic individuals or social agencies. A playground was opened in New York in 1889. In 1892 a model playground was opened in connection with the Jane Addams' Hull House in Chicago. It provided, in addition to sandboxes, apparatus and areas for playing handball and indoor baseball. Because the playground was larger and had more varied facilities, it served older children as well. Other cities which established playgrounds before 1900 were Providence, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Brooklyn, Baltimore, Milwaukee, Cleveland, Minneapolis, and Denver. As in Boston, these were started and financed by private initiative, but were taken over by city or school authorities after their value had been demonstrated.

Chicago probably influenced the development of playgrounds and recreation in the United States more than any other city. In 1903, a \$5 million bond issue was voted for the acquisition and development of small recreation parks in the crowded neighborhoods of the south side. President Theodore Roosevelt called the creation of these parks, ten of which were opened in 1905, "the most notable civic achievement of any American city." They established a



new standard in park and playground building. Previously facilities were mostly out of doors, used only a few months of each year, designed primarily for athletics and other physical activities, and not related closely to the needs of the people in the neighborhoods they served. Chicago's Southpark areas, on the other hand, were designed to serve persons of all ages and with varied interests throughout the year. They afforded both indoor and outdoor facilities available for a wide range of recreation uses and were intended to improve the quality of life.

As interest in playgrounds spread, leaders in cities with unusual playground developments were deluged with requests for advice and information. In April 1906 a small group came together in Washington, D.C. to discuss ways in which they could help other communities. For three days they considered the nation's play needs, particularly those of the children in the large cities. During the course of these meetings — one of them held at the White House — the group organized the Playground Association of America. Its purpose, as stated in its constitution, was "to collect and distribute knowledge of and promote interest in playgrounds throughout the country, to seek to further the establishment of playgrounds and athletic fields in all communities and directed play in connection with the schools." President Theodore Roosevelt gave his hearty endorsement to the new association, which launched the recreation movement on a nationwide basis, and he was elected honorary president.

No event had greater significance for the recreation movement than this Washington meeting. Previously the drive for playgrounds had received no concerted guidance or support; formation of the Playground Association of America gave it new impetus and competent national leadership. A monthly magazine, the *Playground*, was started; fieldworkers were employed who went from city to city, meeting with committees and public officials, exchanging experiences, and assisting in the establishing of playgrounds and recreation programs; a central clearing-house for information was established; publications were issued; and annual play congresses were organized. Among the early activities of the association was the preparation of

(Continued on page 9)

BOOKS IN THE HOBBY

By Stephen J. Ackerman

James W. Milgram, M.D. *Abraham Lincoln Illustrated Envelopes and Letter Paper, 1860-1865*. Northbrook, Illinois: Northbrook Publishing Company, 1984. 272 pages, 439 photographs. \$24.95 plus \$2 postage.

The political campaign envelope evolved with the post office itself. While most obviously associated with the Lincoln elections of 1860 and 1864, the campaign "cover" emerged more than a generation earlier, and it hasn't quite died out yet.

Up to now, political collectors have lacked a source of authoritative information on these postal campaign artifacts; fortunately, a beginning has been made by James W. Milgram, M.D., of Northwestern University Medical School, in his *Abraham Lincoln Illustrated Envelopes and Letter Paper, 1860-1865*.

Milgram's title understates his content, as far as political collectors are concerned. Envelopes from Lincoln's two campaigns, as well as mourning pieces and Lincoln-related Civil War patriotic covers are abundantly pictured and discussed; the bonus is extra coverage of similar items for his political opponents and for the Confederacy, along with a valuable exposition of the origins of political covers in general. Some fascinating historical perspective is added by quotation of letters by soldiers and civilians of the Lincoln period, drawn from the author's 4000-item collection.

Dr. Milgram is by avocation a postal historian, with interests somewhat different from those of political collectors, so some of his attention to postmarks and other incidentals (as well as occasionally unexplained jargon) might not be helpful to some readers. Only a couple of little slips — an 1864 Fremont cover placed under 1856; Clay's running-mate euphonesously renamed "Frederick"

Frelinghuysen — creep into the readable text. Perhaps the principal difference between many political and postal collectors is that the latter deem unused covers far less valuable than used, while the former may think that messy addresses and cancellations tend to mar the graphics. Both would agree, however, on the interest of certain cancellations: Milgram pictures some Lincoln covers which contemporary postmasters, in evident disapproval, cancelled right across the candidate's face. In a more frustrating instance, a careless postal patron spoils a rare John-and-Jesse Fremont "jugate" cover — apparently a Civil War "patriotic" rather than a campaign item — by plunking a stamp over Jesse's face.

Milgram devises a code to identify Lincoln covers analogous to the DeWitt-Sullivan code for political tokens (AL-1, etc.) but doesn't adapt it to the other political covers he pictures. Political collectors would benefit if he would pursue what he notes as the "logical sequel...a detailed listing of political stationery." For the present, *Lincoln Illustrated Envelopes* must serve as a useful though partial guide to the field.

ORIGINS OF POSTAL CAMPAIGN ITEMS

We still have envelopes and stationery from campaign headquarters, and boutiques in some election years stock generic notepads with donkeys and elephants. These are vestiges of the last century, when individual citizens were more likely to campaign on their own for their candidates. Like tokens and ribbons, a few political mailers were issued by clubs (such as the Grant-and-Collfax Club example from Montclair, New Jersey), but most seem to have been hawked to individuals. Advertisements for campaign goods, such as one in the New York *World* of 8 September 1864, show that by that time, they had entered the regular panoply of the well-equipped ward heeler:



Sold by Allen & Co., No. 73 State Street, Boston.

"Medals, breast-pins and Charms in variety, now ready, at 25 cents, 50 cents, and \$1 each.... Envelopes, with portraits in elegant vignettes... note paper... Prints, Engravings and Photographs in endless variety, &c, &c, &c."

Milgram takes us to the origins of postal campaigning, noting that the Abolitionists in the 1830s pioneered political lettersheets. Postal rates in the early years led correspondents to fold their 8x10" stationery into something like a 3x5" packet, affixed by sealing wax and addressed on back. Stamps emerged in 1817 but won acceptance only several years later, about the time that new postal regulations encouraged the use of envelopes. An early postal "cover" thus is either a folded lettersheet or an envelope.

The earliest campaign-related example Milgram has found is an 1832 lettersheet with "Harry Clay. A NATIONAL SONG." — and a clunky one at that — sent by its author, the immortal Henry F. Penfield. In 1840, a predictable flood of Tippecanoe paper engulfed a single rare embossed Van Buren imprint. An amusing letter from a tyro Harrison editor seeking support for his proposed paper, *Old Tip*, displays some home-made log-cabin woodcuts. No Polk specimens appear, but some Tyler 1844 stationery from the "Office of the Old School Democrat" compensates. Clay's affluent supporters produced an abundance of lettersheets in 1844, and diehards hung on to produce Milgram's only specimen of a cover from 1848. 1852 produced the first true envelopes, for Pierce and Scott, but the three-way race of 1856 made them commonplace, with Fremont issues the most prolific.

In 1860 political envelopes abounded, with attractive examples for all four tickets. Milgram reproduces a specimen punning on Stephen A. Douglas as "The Cabinet-Maker of 1861" and "The Cabinet Maker of 1831" — an allusion to the Little Giant's early career as a carpenter no doubt intended to counter Lincoln's "railsplitter" motif. In that same year, we find Lincoln on an envelope identified as "THE COLD WATER CANDIDATE" in a rare gesture to the prohibitionists who helped form the Republican Party, only to be put off when it achieved power. Collectors will also admire the early adhesive stamp in at least four colors picturing Lincoln under the caption "NO EXTENSION OF SLAVERY."

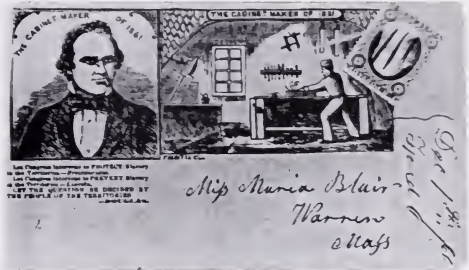
The Confederacy invented "patriotic covers" in 1861, but the North quickly followed suit, producing among its variety jugates (intriguing in the light of later events) of Lincoln with McClellan or Fremont. Since Milgram estimates that some 10-15,000 designs were printed, endless variations must have occurred. As the war dragged on, the fad wore off, but some of the individual specimens for these men are now hard to classify as either political or patriotic in origina. No doubt some early patriotic issues reappeared in the political arena in 1864. Some Fremont envelopes in particular look suspiciously like 1856 overstock overprinted for 1864 use.

By that election, covers were well-established political wares. Some Union Party specimens even included a *precis* of the platform on the reverse. Yet 1868 seems to have been a last hurrah for political mailers for personal use. Whether envelopes or lettersheets — now dwindled to

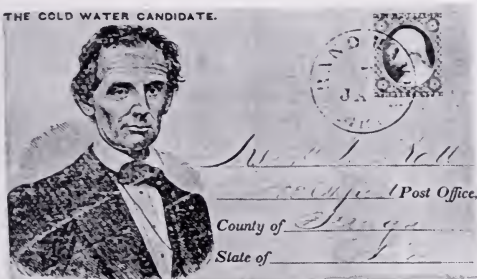
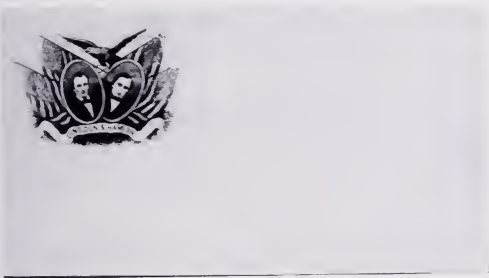
modern stationery status — these souvenirs declined in popularity. Personal postal politicking didn't flourish again until the "Postcard Era" coincided with the election of 1908, and Bryan-Kern and Taft-Sherman banners crossed in the mails. The little-noted nor long-remembered Lincoln sticker stamps of 1860 had to wait almost as long to find imitators. Perhaps revulsion against the mass-media electronic campaigning we endure now may some day produce new developments in the tradition of personal correspondence campaigning.

Political covers are attractive features in a collection, with their interesting graphics and their pithy rhetoric often lacking on other campaign items. Benefitting from a new screen technique that produces exceptionally sharp photos, *Lincoln Illustrated Envelopes* is a stimulating, excellently-illustrated introduction to this genre. A comprehensive work classifying political covers generally would be a welcome sequel. ★

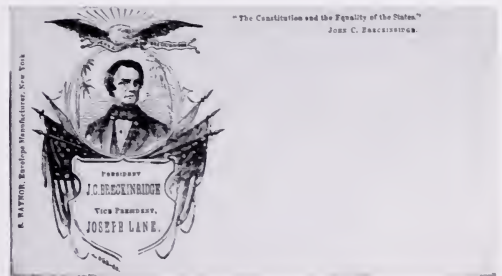




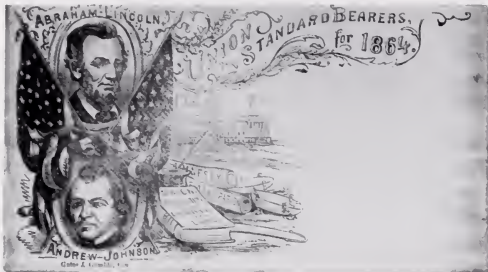
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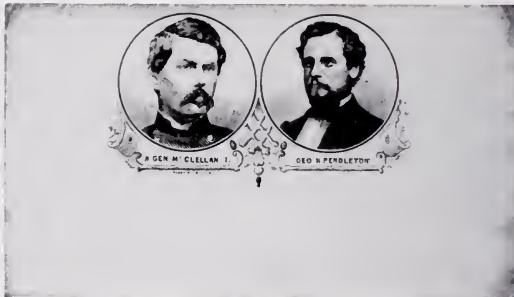
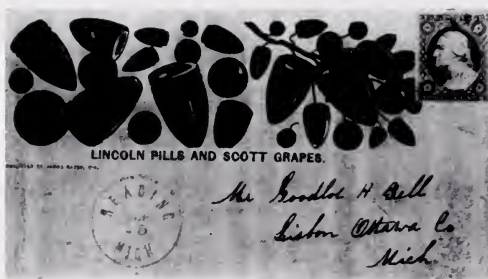
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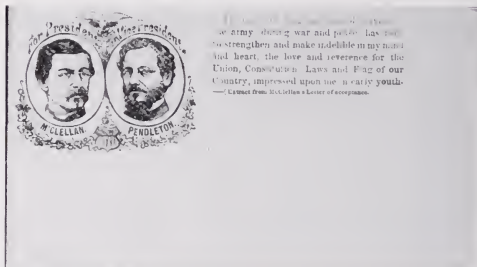
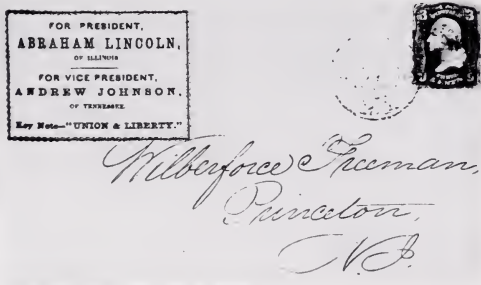
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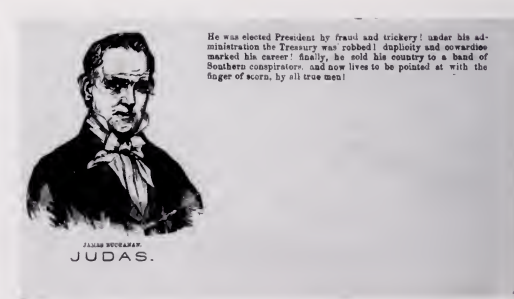
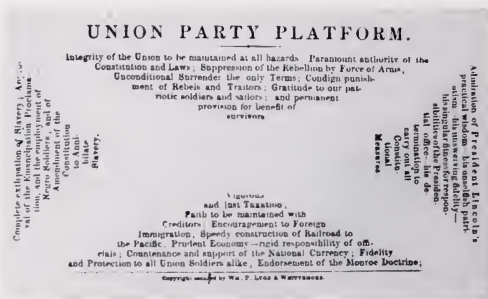


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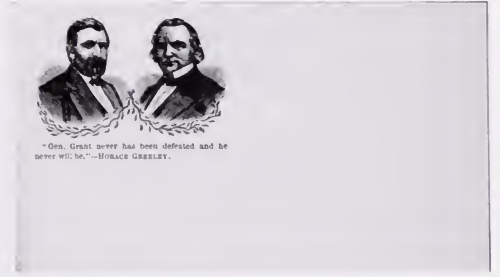
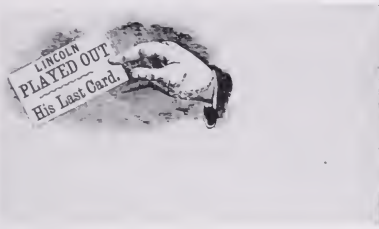
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Obverse



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Reverse



THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1884

AN OVERVIEW

REPRINTED FROM THE KEYNOTER, SPRING 1972

Upon the assassination of President Garfield in 1881, Chester A. Arthur became President and astonished most of the politicians by advocating reforms and generally doing a fine job. He greatly disappointed his cronies and when the Republican Convention met in the summer of 1884, the nod went to the 'Plumed Knight', James G. Blaine of Maine. Other nominees were George F. Edmunds of Vermont and President Arthur.....The Democrats had been out of office for 24 years and felt optimistic, for the divisions within the Republican Party were deep and their candidate controversial. They chose the young reformer, former mayor of Buffalo and the current governor of New York, Grover Cleveland over Tom F. Bayard of Delaware and Allen G. Thurman of Ohio. Thomas A. Hendricks, the well known Indianian, was the choice for Vice President as it was felt he would help the ticket in the Republican mid-west.....The Anti-monopoly and Greenback Parties, advocating money reform, nominated the crafty, former General and Massachusetts politician, Ben F. Butler with

Absalom M. West of Mississippi. The American National Party merged with a group from the Prohibition Party and under the banner of the American Prohibition Party named Samuel C. Pomeroy and John A. Conant. The Prohibition Party named John P. St. John of Kansas and William Daniel of Maryland. Belva A. Lockwood, one of the leaders of the Women's Rights movement, was nominated for President on the Equal Rights ticket, with Marietta L. B. Stow as the choice for Veep.....The campaign was undoubtedly the dirtiest in history — the issues more mostly personal, rather than economic. Cleveland was accused of fathering an illegitimate child, while Blaine's problems centered around charges of undue influence and manipulation. The race was very close — it took the statement of 'Rum, Romanism and Rebellion' by a Blaine supporter and twenty five thousand votes in New York by Prohibitionist St. John to swing the State and the election to Cleveland. This was the Democrats first taste of victory since the three way race in 1856 gave Buchanan the nod.

APIC



KEYNOTER[®]

NEWS OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL ITEMS COLLECTORS

VOLUME XI, Number 1

ISSUED FOUR TIMES YEARLY

SPRING 1972

THE
PRESIDENTIAL
CANDIDATES
OF
1884



DEMOCRATIC PARTY
(Cleveland and Hendricks)
4,911,017
(219)



REPUBLICAN PARTY
(Blaine and Logan)
4,848,334
(182)



GREENBACK (National) PARTY
& ANTI MONOPOLY PARTY
(Butler and West)
133,825 & 42,545



AMERICAN PROHIBITION
(Pomeroy and Conant)
no vote



EQUAL RIGHTS PARTY
(Lockwood And Stow)
no vote

PROHIBITION PARTY
(St. John and Daniel)
151,809

THE AMERICAN PARTY nominated Peter D. Wigginton but withdrew to support St. John and Daniel.



THE CAMPAIGN OF 1884

by Ernest M. Urech, #2422



The charge of dirty politics has often been ascribed to our quadrennial presidential elections with little regard to its actual use. However, of all our elections, the 1884 contest came the closest to this dubious distinction. It was pictured as a struggle between the public immorality of James G. Blaine and the private immorality of Grover Cleveland, and after its conclusion public confidence in the American political system had been severely tested.

The political season of 1884 opened calmly enough with the nomination of Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts as the presidential candidate of the Anti-Monopoly Party. His nomination was seconded two weeks later by the Greenback Party. General A. M. West of Mississippi was added as the Vice-Presidential candidate for the combined efforts of these two minor parties. The parties spoke generally of the need for government regulation, a planned economy, and the issuance of more currency. Unfortunately for the Greenbackers, political issues would be subservient to personal issues in this election and in this regard they were definitely handicapped. Butler, tainted by an unsavory political and military reputation, had little chance in the election and further lessened his hopes by attending the Democratic convention as a voting delegate.

Other minor party candidates included Belva A. Lockwood of the District of Columbia and Marietta L. Stow of California for the Equal or Women's Rights Party. Mrs. Lockwood, who had earlier been the first woman to practice law before the Supreme Court, received negligible support in the election. The Prohibition Party split its meager strength into two parties. In Chicago the American Prohibition Party nominated Samuel C. Pomeroy of Kansas and John A. Conant of Connecticut while in Pittsburgh the more important National Prohibition Party nominated John St. John of Kansas and William Daniel of Maryland. St. John's candidacy proved to be important because many independent Republicans dissatisfied with the candidates of the two major parties cast protest ballots for him in the general election.

Of the two major parties, the Republicans met first in Chicago on June 3rd. The convention turned into a contest between the Stalwart faction, the party regulars and reform minded Republicans, sometimes derisively called Mugwumps. At first it had appeared a coalition of Republicans would deny Blaine his chance for the presidency, as it had in 1876 and 1880. What occasioned this outbreak of hostility towards the charismatic leader of the Republican Party? The answer lay in Blaine's past.

James G. Blaine of Maine was one of America's most gifted orators. He combined his magnetic persuasiveness with personal charm to claim the position of Speaker of the House and later a Senatorship. However, despite his qualifications, Blaine had many weaknesses. Among them was willingness to be manipulated by his business friends. In the 1870's he had sponsored bills that favored railroad interests including the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad then headed by Warren Fisher. Unfortunately for Blaine, all his correspondence with Fisher had been preserved and was kept by James Mulligan, Fisher's bookkeeper. In 1876 a Congressional committee started an investigation of Blaine's improprieties and in an amazing series of audacious events, Blaine moved to squelch the investigation. He immediately rushed to a conference with Mulligan, where he begged him not to disclose the letters. Mulligan, relenting under pressure, gave Blaine most of the letters. Armed with the evidence, Blaine returned to Washington to give an impassioned speech defending his ethics. Using selected passages from the letters, his defense turned the tide and his conduct was officially exonerated. Though Blaine had recouped most of his political fortune, the taint of corruption prevented his nomination for the presidency in 1876. Furthermore, he was denied the Republican nomination in 1880 because of a deadlock between his Half-Breed faction of the Republican Party and the spoils system oriented Stalwart faction headed by Senator Roscoe Conkling of New York. Blaine has to wait four more years for a chance for the presi-

dency. However, his chances were considerably improved when James A. Garfield, the compromise Republican choice of 1880, was assassinated and a Stalwart leader, Chester A. Arthur, became President. Arthur antagonized all wings of the Republican Party with his choices for political office, thus leaving the way open for Blaine in 1884. James G. Blaine was a heavy favorite of the regulars. Blaine supporters suffered a temporary setback when anti-Blaine forces under the able command of Carl Schurz of Missouri elected their man, John R. Lynch, a promising black from Mississippi, as the Temporary Chairman of the convention. The reformers confidently backed George F. Edmunds of Vermont, but the Stalwart faction refused to back Edmunds and the first ballot illustrated the Mugwumps' weakness for Blaine had 334 1/2 votes, Arthur 278 votes and Edmunds 93 votes. Since the Mugwumps would not support Arthur, the results of the convention were a foregone conclusion. On the fourth ballot James G. Blaine received the coveted Republican nomination with John A. Logan of Illinois being quickly awarded the second spot. After the convention the disenchanted Mugwump faction looked to the Democrats for help.

The jubilant Democrats also met in Chicago with their first chance for victory since before the Civil War. The favorite candidate was the honest and respectable Governor of New York, Grover Cleveland. Opposition to Cleveland came primarily from the Tammany Hall political machine of New York led by John Kelly. Kelly tried to divert strength to other regional candidates such as Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware and Allen Thurman of Ohio. Despite this opposition, Cleveland won the nomination on the second ballot. The repudiation of Tammany Hall was symbolized by Governor Edward S. Bragg of Wisconsin. He declared in a seconding speech for Cleveland, "They love him most for the enemies he has made." Then in a shrewd move the convention nominated the popular Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana as the Vice-Presidential candidate. Hopefully, Hendricks' nomination would help shatter the Republican grip on the Middle West.

The portly Grover Cleveland rose to the top spot of his party in a remarkably short time. Beginning as a lawyer in Buffalo, New York, Cleveland was elected mayor of his home town in 1881. Cleveland was known for his campaign to institute a policy of clean government in all facets of government. With his undeniable honesty as a trademark, Cleveland stunned political America with his election as governor of New York in 1882. During his two-year tenure as governor, Cleveland won many friends by his fight against the Tammany machine. By 1884 he had clearly taken the lead as the foremost of the young Democrats opposed to the political spoils system of the era. Now as the candidate of the generally united Democratic Party, Cleveland looked ahead with optimism to the campaign for the presidency.

Unfortunately, the issues of the campaign were relegated to insignificance when on July 21, 1884, a Buffalo newspaper charged Cleveland with the seduction of a widow. Furthermore, this alleged seduction of Maria Halpin resulted in a child, and to compound the problem Cleveland had refused to marry her. The accusation startled Victorian America and when approached to defend his honor, Cleveland replied simply to his friends, "Tell the truth." Cleveland's refusal to deny the story spread consternation in the Democratic ranks and joy in the Republican camp. Republican rallies trumpeted the slogan "Ma! Ma! Where's my Pa?"

Gone to the White House. Ha! Ha! Ha!"

Throughout the campaign ministers inveighed solemnly against Cleveland's moral laxity. Hounded by an indignant American reaction, Cleveland was further beset by charges of drunkenness, participation in lecherous orgies, and many other imagined sins. Cleveland bore the brunt of these attacks with amazing self-control. He even tried to squash a story that purported to show that Blaine had married his wife after she was with child.

Cleveland had personal troubles, but Blaine stood accused of public corruption. The "Plumed Knight" of the Republican Party (a nickname given to him in the 1876 convention) was shocked by the disclosure of additional letters written to Warren Fisher in 1876. These letters clearly implicated Blaine in a deal to gain railroad rights-of-way. The Mulligan Letters, as they were called, proved Blaine to be a blatant liar during the Congressional investigations of 1876. The Democrats gleefully taunted the Republicans with the slogan "Burn this letter! Burn this letter! Burn, burn oh burn this letter!" in an obvious reference to Blaine's injunction to James Mulligan to

THE 1884 CAMPAIGN, continued.

destroy the evidence implicating him in the scandal. Another popular Democratic slogan was "Blaine! Blaine! James G. Blaine! The continental liar from the State of Maine!" in parody to the Republican, "Blaine! Blaine! James G. Blaine! The white plumed knight from the State of Maine!" The Republican hopes were further damaged by the emerging art of political cartoonists. Thomas Nast, one of America's most famous cartoonists, pictured Blaine exposed before Republican leaders as a man tattooed with his past indiscretions. Clearly the Democrats were winning the war of the slogans.

Despite all his past mistakes, Blaine saw the possibility of victory in the election if he could carry Cleveland's New York and he had reason for optimism. In New York, the influential Tammany machine betrayed the Democratic Party and worked actively for Blaine. Irishmen liked Blaine's anti-British stance and his family ties to Catholicism. (His mother was a Catholic and his sister, a mother superior in an Indiana convent). In addition, Republican rural strength was counted upon to deliver a healthy majority.

Late in the campaign a confident Blaine returned to New York to nail down his expected victory. He first appeared at a meeting of wealthy Republican businessmen at Delmonico's Restaurant. The feast was so sumptuous that the New York World pictured it as "Belshazzar's Feast." As destructive as this appearance was to Blaine's presidential aspirations, he received a worse setback at a conference with ministers on October 29th. During the many tributes to Blaine, Samuel S. Burchard, a Presbyterian minister, made a fateful statement. In calling for the defeat of the Democrats, he remarked, "We are Republicans, and don't propose to leave our party and identify ourselves with the party whose antecedents have been rum, Romanism, and rebellion." Blaine obviously missed the statement, but a Democratic observer did not. The next day Democratic publicists circulated the phrase, "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion" to the Irish wards of New York City. Blaine, though he disavowed the statement, was probably defeated by it, as Cleveland carried New York by 1,149 votes out of 1,167,169 cast. Other factors in his defeat in New York were the Prohibitionist St. John's strong showing of 25,000 votes, Mugwump defections, the weak showing of the normally Democratic Benjamin Butler, and a heavy rain in upstate New York keeping the Republican rural vote down.

It was a strange ending to a strange campaign. Cleveland had squeaked out a narrow electoral vote victory of 219 to 182 and had become the first Democrat to occupy the White House since James Buchanan. Party issues such as tariff revision, control of monopolies, currency problems and civil service were lost in the tumult of personal controversy. Perhaps the best summation of voter attitude came from a remark attributed to a Mugwump leader, Moorfield Storey, "We are told Mr. Blaine has been delinquent on office but blameless in private life, while Mr. Cleveland has been a model of official integrity but culpable in his personal relations. We should therefore elect Mr. Cleveland to the public office which he is so well qualified to fill, and remand Mr. Blaine to the private station which he is admirably fitted to adorn."



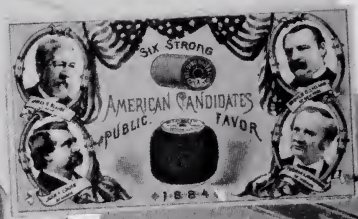
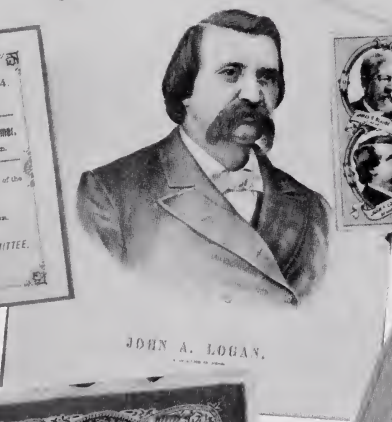
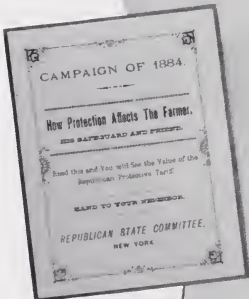
CUFF LINKS, BADGES, SHELL BUTTONS, BRIDLE ROSETTES, TOBACCO TABS, A CHECKER ETC. FROM THE 1884 CAMPAIGN.



PAPER AND CLOTH ITEMS FROM THE 1884 CAMPAIGN.



POSTERS, KERCHIEFS, RIBBONS, PAMPHLETS AND AD CARDS FROM THE 1884 CAMPAIGN.



POLITICAL TOKENS, CALENDAR MEDALS, GLASS, CHINA, PAPER WEIGHTS,
WOODEN PLAQUES AND CLOTHING BUTTONS FROM THE 1884 CAMPAIGN.





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CARMACK for GOVERNOR

SHALL THE PEOPLE
OR THE
MACHINE RULE?